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R-----s on both Sides.

In which are the

Rogues
CHARACTERS
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Some R-----'s not yet describ'd;

With a true Description of

An Old Whig, and a Modern
Whig; an Old Tory, and
a Modern Tory; High-
flyer, or Motly;

As also of a

Minister of State.

By the same Author.

L O N D O N,

Printed for John Baker, at the Black-Boy in
Pater-noster-Row, 17 LI.

Price 6d.

2015 NOV 2

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CHARACTERS

OF

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AN OLD WHIG, AND A MODERN
ING, AND OLD FORT, AND
A MODERN FORT, HIGH-



Minister of State.

By the same Author.

LONDON.

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1811.

Price 6s.

THE
Epistle Dedicatory
To all the
HONEST MEN
OF
BOTH SIDES.

I Am satisfy'd no Body else will like the following Book, and how great your Number is, I know not; but this I know, that I take this Pamphlet to be the Test of every Man's Honesty, as Mr. Bay's Play was of every Man's Wit; or it may be compar'd to the Spear of Ithuriel, when it touches any Hypocrite, tho' in the Shape of an Honest Man; it will make him immediately confess

The Epitile Dedicatory.

confess the Devil, and rail and curse like
any broken Gamester, or bilk'd Coachman. I
have said, that I know not your Number,
Gentlemen, but yet I fancy, if you wou'd
all come to a good Understanding with one
another, you wou'd really be too hard for
the Rogues on both Sides; which is the
bearty Wish of,

Gentlemen,

Your humble Servant, &c.

Rogues

Rogues on both Sides.

In which are the Characters of

Some Rogues not yet describ'd;

And a true Description of

An Old Whig, and a Modern Whig; An
Old Tory, and a Modern Tory;
High-Flyer, or Motly, &c.

I Remember a curious Piece written on the
Character of a Trimmer; in which a
Trimmer was justly prov'd to be much better
than either *Whig* or *Tory*; since he was
byas'd by nothing but the *Publick Good*, and
enclin'd either to the *Whigs*, or to the *Tories*, as
they pursu'd *that End*. This Character has
since been rang'd under the Title of the *Flying
Squadron*, which a great while kept a just Ba-
lance betwixt the two Parties, whose Violence
or Self-Ends wou'd else have overset the Boar.
I grant that Men of this Principle have been
fall'n on by both Parties, and the sam'd Law of
Athens urg'd against them, that in Disputes be-
B tween

tween the Citizens there should be no Neuters. But whatever might have been the Grounds and Reason of that Law, at that Time; it is certainly evident, that in ours it must be very prejudicial to the Publick; for if all were equally mad, Destruction must follow, and no wholesome or moderate Councils take place, and the Divisions run so high, that nothing but the Extirpation of one Side, cou'd please the other; that so the fear of a Rival being taken away, the prevailing Party might commit what Exorbitancies they pleas'd, without any Curb, or Opposition; whereas when by the *Trimmer* the Balance is held so even, that the Rogueries, or Mismanagement of either is overpoised, and tosses them up in the Air, the Rapine and Avarice, as well as Ambition of Power in either, cannot ruin the Nation, as we have lately found by Experience.

It is true, that we have in few of our Reigns found the ill Advisers punished, for abusing the Prince's Ear, or his Power; nay, we have generally seen the Prince himself animadverted, and the foul Advisers Rewarded, and exalted into Places of Power, and Trust. To prevent the successive Sufferings of the Crown, there was an Act made, that no Courtiers shou'd sit in Parliament after the Demise of her present Majesty, and that every Counsellour shou'd Sign the Advice he gave to his Prince, that if it were against the Law, and the good of the Subject, or out of any sinister Design, the Adviser shou'd receive his due Punishment, and the Crown be free; which
wou'd

wou'd remove all Disputes of *Jure divino*, and Resistance, and the like ; since then the Crown cou'd never be Resisted, as never deviating from the sacred Coronation Oath, or breaking the fundamental Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom.

To this it has been urg'd, that no Counsellour wou'd venture to give his Advice, since tho' it might be well meant, it might not be Successful; but by this they wou'd avoid the Force of the Question, and the reason of the thing, without making any tolerable Pretence. For 'tis not to be suppos'd, that any Counsellour wou'd be call'd to Account for any Advice, which by its dependance on Chance or Fortune may want a happy Event; but for such which relate to the Laws and Liberties of the People, of which both Prince and Counsellour ought to consult the Safety; for let the Event be ever so happy, of Advice that tends to the Invasion of our Laws and Liberties, the Counsellour is the more Criminal, by being the more Successful.

As for all Advice which relates to the Management of Peace or War, by Sea or Land, that must be uncertain, and tho' refer'd to the best Judges of the matter, may miscarry. But this is all, that has been ever alledged for the abrogating that admirable Legacy to our Crown and Liberties, of King *William*, by the *Whigs*, who perhaps annulled it, because establish'd by a Tory Parliament.

The other Act was, the incapacitating Courtiers from sitting in the House of Commons; this

was likewise a Royal Legacy of King *William*, which would have secured our Liberties more, than all the Laws we have; and indeed, put an end to the Violence at least of our Parties, who make all this stir, who consecrate the Miscarriages, and Crimes indeed of the Ministry, in hopes of Places; who, as they purchase the *Votes* of others, to get into the House, so sell their own when they are there. Not that I am of Opinion, that there ought to be no Person that has a Place at Court, shou'd sit in the House, it being necessary, that the Secretaries of State, and some few others, shou'd be there. But to have so many Scores, that have Places, and so many Scores, who for that Reason expect Places, is to make our Liberties very precarious; and to keep up this Bone of Contention, which creates Feuds between Brothers and Brothers; Husbands and Wives; Fathers and Children; and makes Neighbours fall out with one another, and call hard Names, encreasing Enmity and Strife, only for my Lord this, or my Lord that, and Sir *Thomas*, or Sir *Harry*, and Squire such an one, and Squire such an one, that they may get Places, fill their Pockets, and drein ours. And tho' the *Lord*, the *Knight*, and the *Squire*, act contrary to their profess'd Principles never so much, their Actions are made like the Tribuneship of the People among the *Romans*, most holy and most inviolable. And thus on both sides, *Tories* as well as *Whigs*, tho' in a less degree hitherto.

The

The Violencies of Parties are now come to that extravagant Biggotry to *Men*, and not *Principle*; that if any *Demagogue* cries out in a Shower of Rain, that it rains butter'd Turnips, the whole Party will face one down, that it is so, nay, believe it so far themselves, that they'll bring out their Pewter Platters & Earthen Dishes, and Copper and Brass Vessels, to catch them; and eat whatever these receive with a perfect *Israelitish* Faith, since it seems to them to be no other, than their Leaders tell them it is.

Nannius, a zealous *Whig*, was consulting with three or four Companions, what Tavern to spend the Evening in; and the *Vine* in *Long-Acre* being propos'd, *Nannius* cries out, *Dam mee, 'tis a Tory Tavern, and the Dog cannot have good Wine*; never considering, that it was no Damage to the *Whig* Cause, that the *Torys* know, and love good Wine, and they have ever since their Birth, to the Day of the date hereof.

Tabitha, a good pious pains taking Sister, lives within the Precincts of *Lambeth-Marsh*; She washes Linen with that Address, that every Customer recommends her to his Acquaintance; but it happens, that she frequents the Morning Lectures of the Saints, and remembers 'not only the *Text*, but the whole Sermons of the gifted. She was recommended to *Furius*, a *Tory*, and a *Beau*, whose Faith was much in clean Linen, who understanding she was a *Whig*, cry'd, *Stap my Vitals*, the Bitch can never wash well, for she

she is a *Whig*; not considering, that a *Whig* may love clean Linen, as well as a *Tory*.

I confess, for my own Part, I was always so unfortunate, as not to be able to continue long of any Party, that was uppermost; because both *Whig* and *Tory* have still been Guilty of Things complain'd of in each other. Both sides have shown Dexterity enough to gain their Point, but neither has yet discovered Ability, Moderation, or Justice enough to maintain themselves in their Posts, but have hitherto lost them as weakly and shamefully as they got them, with Address and Judgment; like Generals, who are very Successful in Battles, but never know how, or do not care to pursue the Victory. Perhaps the *Tories* may now learn Generosity, Zeal for the Publick Good, Moderation, and the like, since they condemn the Avaricious Rapaciousness, private Aims, and Violence of the *Whigs*; or they may yet be like the *Whigs*, and only praise the Virtues they never practise; and only rail at the Vices of the opposite Party, to get into Power to be guilty of the same; but *Spero meliora*. The *Whigs* Principles indeed, and the *Tory* Practice for any Money.

I confess the Difficulty is not easy, as matters go, to know a *Whig* from a *Tory*; for those are called *Whigs*, who act like *Old Tories*; and those are call'd *Tories*, who stand up for the Laws and Liberties of their Country, But at a Time, when these hard Names
are

are impos'd on Men, not only by a contrary Party, but are assum'd by People themselves, without any certain Sense annex to them; it wou'd not be either unuseful or unenterprising, to look into the Rise of these Names of Parties; which are now reviv'd in much different Senses to those, in which they were us'd at their first Appearance in this Nation. The Pamphlet call'd, *Faults on both Sides*, has told us of their Meaning at their Rise; *Tory*, an Appellation taken from the wild *Irish*, was given the Passive Obedience and Non-resistance Idolizers of the Person of the Prince, without Regard to the Laws, or the Good of Human Society, tho' the Prince's being on all Hands allowed to be instituted for the Good of the People, must of consequence be of less Importance, than that Good; because the Means is always of less Consideration, than the *End*. *Whig* was taken from the *Scots Presbyterians*, and thrown on all the Patriots, who were Zealous for a Legal, not an Arbitrary Monarch; tho' now, through Inadvertence, the Words are inverted, and have quite contrary Meanings. Whence Ignominy falls on some Men, who really deserve our Praise; and Glory descends on Others, who deserve our *Abhorrence*. For *Whig* and *Tory* (as I have said) signify now no more what they did in the Days of King *Charles* the II. than they do necessarily imply, *Wisdom*, or *Folly*; *Honesty*, or *Knavery*, in the Men who are call'd so.

to: Whence it comes, that some who are really *Whigs*, in the old Sense of the Word, are now call'd, and assume the Name of *Tories*: and others, who are rank *Tories*, in the Primitive Sense, do not only with an Impudence peculiar to themselves, and visible in all they do or say, assume the Name of *Whigs*; but which is more strange, are allow'd by the sincere, but weak *Whigs*, to be such; and have a very uncommon Influence on the *Heedlessness*, *Ignorance*, or *Corruptness* of too many of that Party; so far indeed, as to destroy the common *Notions of Things*, and to make Reason and Principle submit to meer *Names*, and to *Persons*.

The Evil Consequence of this Mistake has been more, than once extreamly prejudicial to the common Interest of this Nation; not only by giving the *Spoilers* of it, an *Opportunity* and *Power* of executing so sacrilegious a Robbery, but even Impunity, and Security in their Crimes. Shou'd Precedents of this Nature continue as frequent, as they have been; they must inevitably destroy the small, and very weak Remains of *Publick-Spirit*, and *Virtue* among us; and afford a Temptation to *Villanies* so beneficial and so secure, that it will be impossible for the most corrupt (that is, the active and pushing) Part of so corrupt an Age to resist it, till the *Liberty*, *Religion*, and *Property* of this Nation are left in either a *Domestick*, or *Foreign Slavery*, notwithstanding the

Their sake, by waving the Right of Revolution, adhering to the Establishment, and sending the Young Gentleman home again: Let the *Tories*, if they can, produce any one Instance, like these I have shewn, of their Loyalty and Fidelity to that Princely Race. They pretend, that we are for a Commonwealth, and we with more Justice object to them that they are for Arbitrary Power and Tyranny. Do we think a *German* Prince will not discern the Difference, and how much better it is to Rule a Free-born People, and a Race of Nobles fit to be his Companions, than a Nation of Slaves and Vassals? The *Tories* must not think to pass these idle Amusements upon a Wise and Judicious Court, which can never save them from Turning out, to make room for the True Patrons of the Succession. We all know whose *Legacy* it was, and can we suppose, that Legacies were intended for Enemies, and not for Friends?

There is another Great Concern, I mean the *Security* of the *Protestant Religion*, which I am sure can never flourish as it did, till the *Whigs* are again empowred to take it under their Protection. Nothing can be more surprizing than to hear *Jacobites*, *Highflyers*, and *Papists* in Masquerade, talk of preserving and maintaining the Protestant Religion. As for us, it has been our particular Care, ever since the Peace of *Reswick*. It was by our Direction, that the Famous *Exposition* of the *Church of England* Articles was written, by which the Inclosure and Pale, that had been made up by the *Tories*, was thrown open, and a large Gap made, at which, under the Conduct of a *Religious Naturalizing* Parliament, the Fulness of the Gentiles marched in, and by

joining Us, made our Forces more than a Match for the Enemy. I have heard it said, that some of These were not *Protestants*, and that others were not *Christians*; But did they not renounce Popery in a solemn manner? Did they not swear against Them even in an Unknown Tongue? If This will not make a Man a *Protestant*, I am at a Loss to know what a *Protestant* is. Let this therefore be reckoned among the Calumnies of that malicious Party. With what indefatigable Industry have we laboured to bring together, and reconcile under one and the same Protestant Denomination, *Deists*, *Socinians*, *Atheists*, *Latitudinarians*, *Libertines*, and *Free-Thinkers*? And can there be any Thing that can contribute more to the Security of the Protestant Religion, than Unity and Concord? When the *Tories* talk of *one Faith and one Mind*, They know, that what they attempt to bring about, it is impossible should ever happen in Nature; Men will differ so long as they are Men; Certainly in the Judgment of all discerning Persons, the Conduct of the *Whigs* is much the Wisest, by a *General Toleration* to make it the Interest of all People not to *Divide*, tho they do *Differ*; by which means the whole Body of Protestant Dissenters are drawn in for Parties in the Common Cause of the Church against Popery and Superstition; and yet for This we have been called *Presbyterians* and *Fanatics*; and we have met with all the Opposition in the World from the *Tories*, whose constant Business it was to Divide the Well-affected as fast as we could bring them together. At the Revolution, when the Protestant Religion was in the utmost Danger, whilst the *Tories*, to their everlasting Shame and Confusion stood out and kept at

a Distance from that easy Monarch : We fell in with Him, concerted Measures with his *Popish* Counsellors, and ply'd him with all those Refined Arts, which Envy it self must acknowledge we are Masters of to a Perfection ; by which we brought about that Blessed Turn, and preserved Religion at a Time, when the Slavish Dastardly *Tories* were preparing themselves for *Smithfield* Market. If therefore we have any Regard for the Reformation, and are Real and Sincere when we Declare against *France* and *Popery*, we should join Hands in behalf of Those, who are the most Professed Enemies to *Rome*, and Hearty Friends to every thing that is called *Protestant* in *Europe*.

The Gentlemen, who are now in Power, value themselves upon nothing so much, as upon their Loyalty, and Love of Monarchy, whose Rights and Prerogatives they always talk of defending and supporting. But we are not to try Men upon their own Words. I am positive, if the Actions of the *Whigs* can make a better Proof of their Fidelity to the Crown, it will soon appear who are the best Subjects of the two. The Learned and Judicious Mr. *Ferguson*, who was always a staunch *Whig*, whilst Youth and Vigour permitted him to be useful and serviceable, in his Account of *The Qualifications of a Minister of State*, observes, that a Distrust of themselves was the great *Foible* of the Family of the *Stuarts* ; but, with Submission, I think, their Distrust of the *Whigs* was a much greater *Foible*, who with all the most pathetick and solemn Promises imaginable, could never obtain a Permission to make them Great and Glorious Monarchs. *K. James the Second* did indeed trust them for a Time ; but it was his Misfortune not to trust

enough of them ; and let any one shew me when any one *Tory* Corporation or County ever addressed the Throne in such high Terms, as the *Whigs* did at that Time. They ascribed to *His Majesty*, not only an absolute Dominion over the Bodies and Goods, but over the very Souls and Consciences of his Subjects. What could be more sincere, than their wishing, that *they had Windows in their Breasts*, that *His Majesty might see the Integrity of their Hearts* ; and to prove that this was their old constant unalter'd Principle, the *Tories* themselves own, that if the King could have looked through those Glass Windows into their Breasts, he would have found nothing there but Old Standards and Second-hand Furniture. How loyal a Design was that in the *Whigs*, to make the Throne a *Co-ordinate Power*, and how Rudely and Unjustly has it been Misrepresented ? Tho' to an Indifferent, Rational Man, nothing can seem a fairer and more ample Concession, than for the *Whigs* to allow the same Power to Crowned Heads, that ever they pretended to for themselves. Can it ever enter into the Head of any thinking Creature to imagine, that the *Whigs* should oppose the Prerogative, or any the most ample Claim to Dominion ; when not so much as one of the Party can arrive at the Dignity of a *Secretary*, *Treasurer*, or *Lord Lieutenant*, but they presently assume and exercise all that Glorious Unbounded Authority, which the *Tories* pretend they have disclaimed ? By this they cannot be supposed, since they are only Ministers still, to mean any thing else but the Support of the Royal Character, which they represent ; which is certainly doing Justice to the Rights of Monarchy. But let the Bigots of the other Party go on to censure them with

with no more Reason ; they will find by Experience, when the long-wish'd for Change comes, that the *Whigs* are no such Enemies to Sovereignty as they imagine. They have accused them of being the Authors and Abettors of a strange Medley, call'd *Mixt Monarchy* ; but what did they do, when they were uppermost, to deserve this ? Did they not push at a Single, Sole, and Total Supremacy, without any Partners, any Mixture, or Coalition ? The *Tories* vainly dream, that their Passive Obedience and Non-resistance is the shortest Way toward the establishing of Royal Dominion ; but they are, as they used to be, extreamly mistaken. Few Monarchs will ever depend upon that Scheme : and besides, it is whisper'd, that they are got in earnest who propose it : For whatever Men resolve when they are in cool Blood, yet, as Mr. *Asgill* observes, when they are put into a *Fright* or a *Passion*, they know not what they shall do. But the surest Way to Monarchical Power, is the Republican System of the *Whigs*. A short Experiment of this sort never failed to produce as good a *May-day* Monarch as Heart could wish. *Cromwell* and *Massanello* went this way to work ; they were *Whigs* in the making, and *Tories* when they were finished. If ever therefore there be occasion to restore Monarchy, the *Whigs* ought to be first restored, to pave the Way to that Design. Their Love of Regal Power is unquestioned ; let them go first, and the other will soon follow in course.

If we Consider the *Honour and Dignity of Parliaments*, I hope no one will deny, but the *Whigs* have a much greater Regard to This than the *Tories* ; and This is another Reason that ought to incline every True Lover of our Constitution to
 wish

with and endeavour Their Restoration. What an Ornament their Leading Orators and Speakers were to the Last Parliament, the Tories must remember to their Sorrow. The Figure they made, render'd Them but too Formidable, and Hazarded their being made Hereditary, even in spite of their own Principles. They fell by their own Strength, and their Glory was their Ruin. What might not be Expected from such Men, who could win over a Learned and Reverend Bench of Prelates, to the truly Noble and Christian Duty of Self-Condensation; and reduce Atheists, Deists, and Libertines, at least to a serious Enquiry after the Doctrines of Christianity? How careless were the Tories of the Senatorial Dignity, when they permitted the Liberties of England and Europe to be disposed of by those who subsisted on the nasty Elective Breath of Scot and Lot Men, Greasy Burgesses, and Indigent Potwashers? How much nobler was it, to leave This Mighty Decision to an Honourable Committee, Independent of such Scoundrels? This was truly Great and like Patriots, for none but such Senators were fit to Chuse Themselves! How many of that Order were Quartered upon Paymasters, Receivers, and the Subalterns of the Chequer? How many held Commissions in Commendam with Burroughs? What vast Numbers were out upon Subsistence and at Board-wages? Whilst others Thrived upon Lists, Bounties, and a Competency of Types and Shadows: Whom the Tories, had they been in their Places, would have Deserted and Forsaken in the Queen's Bench and Marshalseas; and what was all this for, but to enable all the Members to support the Dignity of Parliaments? They were truly sensible, how Great and Inestimable

mable the Value of a *British* Senate was, and therefore staked the *Bank*, the *East India* Company, the *Treasury*, and in short, all that Plunder, which the *Saints* had laid aside for the Work of the Lord, in purchasing those Rights and Privileges, which the *Tories* thought worth no more than a Tub of Ale, and a little good Neighbourhood. It was not possible but the most useful Knowledge in Politicks, must be freely propagated in that School, where Youth were regularly trained up: And as the Order of Nature requires, were taught to *Speak*, before they could either Write or Read. To declare the Events of War, even in spite of Chance: To conceal the growing Debt, by pronouncing the Receivers to have manag'd well, which set the Bankruptcy still further off: And to publish the Royal *Banns*, tho' they knew that a strict Follower of good Q. *Bess* must certainly forbid them, were Attempts, strangely Glorious and Heroick: Such as no succeeding Senate must ever presume to exceed. This therefore must be said for the Honour of *Parliaments*, that tho' a *Whig* Dissolution is absolutely necessary to retrieve all, and tho' a *Whig* Parliament must meet again, yet such a *Whig* Parliament will scarce ever meet at *Westminster*.

Every Body knows, that we are a Nation subsisting upon Trade and Merchandize, and that the Moneyed Interest is much too heavy for the Land, in the Ballance of the Publick Accounts. I need not tell the World, how much the *Whigs* have encouraged Trade: And that till They are Restored, we must never expect to see it prosper and flourish. For did not the *Tories* clamour against the *Bank* and *East India* Company, for not transmitting those vast Sums to *Flanders* or the
Indies,

Indies, where only Foreigners would have been the better for them, which they chose rather to spend in our own Burroughs and Corporations, for the Encouragement of the *English* Manufactures? I am sorry to say, that such a Practice as this, wants no Colours in the Description, to set it off to the Life. How many Noble Branches of Commerce have been lately sunk, and totally lost? The Premiums for *Remittances* are considerably abated: The Trafficking with the Debts of the *Navy*, the vast and profitable Trade to the Straights of *Change-Alley*, the *Split-stick* Income, and prodigious Importation of *Privy Seals*, the Augmentations for *Secret Service*, the *Draw-backs* upon *Small-beer* and *Hopps*, the Noble Manufacture of the *Spanish* Wooden-Legg, the Trade of *War* and of *Peace*, of *Unions* and *Alliances*, the great Advantage of *Battles* and *Sieges*, are all in extreme Danger: And God only knows how soon they may be at an end. And who are the Men, whom we are to thank for all this? I need not name the *Tories*: Every one will fix it upon them: Let them take it off if they can. How did they trump up the *South Sea* Company upon us, at a Time, when our *East India* Men began to dream of making both Worlds their own: And that all those, who before the late Whimsical Election, deserved to be sent to the *Plantations* they had purchased, would once more come to be necessary at Home. Nay not content with this, did they not set up the *African* Company to be another Rival in Trade, at a Time too, when the *Bank* wanted to recover its Lustre: Whose *Elective* Monarchs had been so lately a Match for the *Hereditary*, and wanted but a few Points to get over, to be in a Capacity

of

of bidding Money for the *Patron* of *England*, and erecting themselves into a *Bank* of *St. George*. Did they not bring in *French* Wines for *Tory* Healths; to the great Detriment of the *Herefordshire* Trade; whereas we managed the Correspondence to so much greater Advantage, by the way of *Holland* and *Sussex*? If this be not sufficient to prove, how much Trade has been discouraged by the *Tories*, let the many indigent Families, that pine and labour under their numerous Oppressions, witness against them; let the *Sir James's*, *Sir Gibby's*, *Sir Harry's*, with the illustrious House of *Farnese*, rise in Judgment against them, who must now starve for want of the other odd Plumb. I know very well, what the Fable of *the Fox and the Flies* means; I wish every Body else knew it as well; certainly they would never trust the Trade of the Publick with those, who have no Stock, who are empty and craving; whereas the Fat and Well-fed should, one would think, be much fitter for the Business; but this is easily evaded: They say, that Hunger is not so insatiable as Avarice: And that what we call our Wealth, is only the *Arrears* of the Parish, in the Hands of the old *Overseers*, which they can demand at Pleasure; see the Insolence and Folly of the Men! How ridiculous is it to say, they will not trust us, when they know, we must trust them, or they can never go on with their Trade. Here indeed I must drop the Argument: For I do not wish to see the *Whigs* restored, till press'd by Necessity, and the Want of such Managers, the poor distressed *Tories* come with an awkward Face, and humbly intreat us to take the *Shop*, the Remainder of the *Goods*, the *Book-Debts*, and all the Trade into our own Hands. Again; then

we shall soon see, whether the *Proprietors* of the *Dunghil*, or its *Offspring*, are most likely to grow fat and prosper.

There has of late been more Noise and Preaching about *the Church*, than ever was made in it, and all against the poor *Whigs*: Whereby great Numbers of the Well-meaning Layety, and even of the Clergy themselves, have been drawn into an ill Opinion of them: As if they were Enemies to the Established Religion, and intended the Hurt, if not the Ruin, of the *Church of England*; we have indeed tried her more than once, even as Silver is tried, but was not this for her Glory? Was she ever purer, or ever more flourishing, than in the Days of Primitive Christianity? And was not that an Age of Trials to the Church? I hope it can never be suppos'd, that Men of our Principles, could have a Design to advance or promote any other Religion; whilst the *Tories* by lifting the Church too high, by mounting her upon a Hill and an Eminence, have made her as a Mark and a Butt, whereby she is apparently seated in a Place of Danger, exposed to every Assault; such a Situation as this, is no better than a——*Præcept immane Ruina*—— I should be glad to hear one of *that Party* tell me, whether their erecting *Fifty Churches* by Act of Parliament, or our filling them by a General *Comprehension*, be the more meritorious Work of the two; I am sure, no *Tory* can say the first is the best of the two, without preferring Stone-Walls and Steeples before the Congregation, a dead Church before a living. What a ridiculous Coil have they kept about the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*; could any thing be more for the Service of the Church, than giving the Clergy a Power to defend it? Is not

this

this delivering the Sword to St. Peter, and raising a *Church Militia*, whereby she may be able to combat her great Enemies, the *Papists* and *Presbyterians*? Who are the Men, that do most Honour to the Church, they who represent her as a poor, disconsolate, weeping Virgin, pining and forsaken: Ridicul'd by her own Sex, and tamely ravished by ours: Or we, who dress her up as becomes a Warfaring *Amazon*, with the whole Armour of the *King of Hosts* whom she serves, able and prepared to defend her self, to make Princes bow down to the Dust of her Feet, to subdue the Kingdoms of the Earth, which have so long been promised her, to bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles with Links of Iron? When Men will wilfully shut their Eyes against their own Good, and stubbornly refuse to see, or to know their own best Friends, I can't think it possible, but they must be often in Danger, and at last inevitably ruined; what could we be supposed to mean by our hearty Endeavours, to join the Church and the Presbyterians, but to strengthen and establish their Power and Interest? The *Presbyterians* are a Warlike Religion, the greatest Masters of Military Discipline of any Church in Europe: Such an Allie would have been of singular Use to a declining Clergy, had they been at leisure to consult their own Happiness and Security. We own, we gave a considerable Check to *Convocations*, scarce permitted them to meet, and never suffer'd them to sit, and we glory in the Management; by this we gave the Church a Demonstration, how much we had her Safety and Honour at Heart, when we would not be Accessary to those unnatural Broils and Contentions, which so often endanger her Peace, nor put it into the

Power of the Clergy to destroy one another. Can it ever be imagined, that when the first and leading Prelates of the Church were all along in the Secret with the Directors of the *Junta*, They should not make themselves Masters of all that Fineness of Politicks, that might preserve the Ecclesiastical Constitution, which we had practised with such Success for the Security of the Civil? Did we not by allowing *Occasional Conformity*, bribe over a great many of the Church's profess'd Enemies to her Communion? And how many *Butteresses* can we boast of, as useful as their Pillars? If any other Sett of Men can produce the same Evidence of their sincere Love of the Church and Clergy, we shall not then envy their being so much in Favour. In the mean time, let them pray for our Restoration, as they value the great Assertors of the Revolution, by which she was saved miraculously, and thereby reserved for greater Things, if she will be advised, and submit to her best Guides, who would enlarge her Borders, and make no Distinction between her spiritual Governours, and the Kings and mighty Men of the Earth.

When the *Whigs* fell, many of those Firm and well contrived Underprops were taken away, which Supported and Adorned the Political Structure: and I would be glad to know, what the *Tories* have substituted in their Room, or how the Building will stand, unless the Old Master Workmen are again trusted with the Undertaking. Could any thing be of greater Use, a more Loyal and Publick-spirited Institution, than the *Kit-Kat*? By this Society, the Standard and Measures of Wit were allowed and approved, and the whole Coinage of Libels and Lampoons managed

naged to the greatest Advantage of the Publick. Hence Orders were Issued to the Authors, and Prohibitions to the Criticks; and by these Means the Throne and Ministry were not only preserved from the secret and open Attacks of Pamphlets and Satyrs, but the Reputation and Beauty of the Fair Circle were secured from the Insults and Evil Intentions of Time, Nature, or Scandal, with all their Adherents and Abettors. What was the *Junta*, but a Curb to the Growing Prerogatives of *Parliaments*, a Spur to Deliberating Generals, a Purgative to a retentive *Treasurer*, and a careful Guardian and Protector of the Crown? To see a Member of this Noble Assembly, Condescendingly step down to the *Cabinet* or *Privy Council*, must call to our Memories some of the famed Instances of Humility in the Old *Triumviri*, *Archons*, or *Ephori*. And if from this Pinnacle, we Descend to the *Cellar*; even there we shall find a Set of Patriots, no less careful of the Publick Welfare. Their constant Study was, to Countermine the Plots and Contrivances of their Country's Enemies; to Discover Treasons unthought of before, and to prevent even the Premeditating a Conspiracy. How slender a Defence of the Crown would the Law prove, without Witnesses? and how happy a Contrivance was it, to prepare These beforehand? Judges are Commissioned, Juries Empannelled, and why not Evidences Provided, that the Cause may be neither Baulked nor Delayed? Only They, who dare not stand this *Test*, will be against it. Let Little Officers, who will not Tell more than they Know, or Secretaries, who will presume to Know more than their Betters, tremble at this Judicatory: We need no other

Proof

Proof of its being the strict Method of Justice, when Those, who will not be *Whigs*, that is, will not be Honest, are afraid of it. By these Arts, and these Associations, that Loyal Party secured the Throne, the Publick and Themselves. Can the *Tories* boast any Instances of Wisdom and Justice equal to These? I did not mention the Illustrious Assemblies of *Treason-Chamber* and *Somerset House*, where only the Names of the Members are sufficient to give a Lustre to the Society, without mentioning their Laws, Orders, or Original Foundation. Let the other Party produce Their Councils and Synods; what Underprops can They lend the Throne or the Publick? Where are Their Meetings, and whom do they consist? Will they upbraid us with *Her Grace's* Assembly, as worthy to be Compared with any of ours? Will This vie with the *Kit-Kat*? Will a little Harmless Tea so blind the Eyes of a Lover, that he shall see Bloom in a *Whig* Junquil, or curse the Union of the Lilly and the Rose in a *Tory*? Can they Boast of making an Alderman a Wit, or depriving a Revolted Poet of his *Genius*? Did they ever Tumble a *Duke* down Stairs, or make a Compleat Beauty out of a *Tallow Candle*? What Satyrs, Libels, Lampoons, have they given their *Imprimatur* to? Shew me that Crown'd Head that is the Worse, or that Rebel that is the Better for 'em. By what Authority do they meet? who is their Protector? What Gods have they Demolished, and what Demigods placed in their Room? Or will they presume to shew us their Fam'd *October Club*? A Self-created Creature, as much below a Parliament, as our *Junta* was above it. Shall a few *Whettors* be compared to Those, who drank all, and yet were not

not satisfied? Shall a Squadron of Knights and Squires, whom we had long since Drained, compare with Those who Glory in their Spoils? Sometimes indeed, they are Elevated into the Imitation of our Genius, and then they Deviate into *Whigs*, answer their own Questions, and put the Negative upon Themselves; but in their ordinary Capacities, they can only *Blacken* a Name, where we could *Erase* one; can only Design a Model of that *Scaffold*, which we could Finish. Such are the Supports the *Tories* lend the Government, such their Councils and Assemblies! How soon will they vanish, when our Morning comes again; when instead of their stale Accounts of the Constitution, *Protector*, *Junta*, and *Kit-Kat*, shall be the Great Political *Mystery*.

That which confirms me in my Belief, that the Reign of the *Tories* will be short, is, because they do all they can to Lessen the Number of their Subjects, and to look upon the *Dissenters* as scarce Naturalized. The World knows their Settled and Professed Dislike of the *Toleration*: and it should seem unnecessary to vindicate the *Whigs* upon this Article, which makes another very good Reason for their Restoration. Was it possible for us to shew the *Dissenters* in a better Light, or to make them appear more worthy of the Indulgence the Law has given them, than by convincing them of the Necessity they lay under, to Practise that most Charitable and most Christian Duty of *Occasional Conformity*? Could we give a better Security to their Party, than by Increasing their Numbers; an Argument, which they never failed to make the best Use of they could, and by placing *Deists*, *Socinians*, *Liber-tines*, and *Free-thinkers*, in the same Rank with them,

them, and putting both under the favourable Protection of the very same *Statute*? Did we not sling them in a *Flying Squadron* of those called *Moderate Men*, who did them a World of Service, tho' their Principles and those of the Dissenters were at the utmost Opposition: For by appearing chiefly on that Side, they strengthen'd that Party, and served to amuse the Enemy? Did we not Encourage the *Reformation Acts*, where- by the Saints, whose Sins lay quite another way, sucked no small Advantage out of those Iniquities, which themselves least followed and admired? We saw and considered well, the antient Enmity between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*: How they Reviled, Persecuted, and Clawed one another, till we timely Interposed, Reconciled both Sides, put *Independent* Congregations under *Presbyterian* Teachers, and made them one Church, and brought even Contradictions to meet for their sakes, whilst the Northern *Kirk* laughed at the Motly Monster, and we were content to bear their Reproaches. Did we not bring some of them over to the Doctrine of *Lawn Sleeves*, and how much was that for their Advantage? How much greater therefore are our Pretensions to their Favour, than those of the *Tories*? For which Reason, we call upon them to fight our Battels, and to exert themselves and the Courage of their Ancestors in our Behalf, and to bring about another Happy *Restoration*.

As no Set of Men do more cordially Profess to humour the People in all reasonable Requests than the *Whigs*; so they are abundantly prepared to Gratify the present Cravings and Importunity of their antient Allies, the Multitude. How many hearty Promises did the *Tories* make them, that they

they should have a Holyday for *St. Giles's* and *Tower-hill*, together with a sufficient Quantity of *Roast-meat* to their *October*? But these things are utterly forgotten now they are in Power, and should think of Performances. They begin to argue now, that the Guilt of a Publick Plunderer is his Best Security; that *Necrons* are a Plea sufficient to overthrow the strongest Charge; that the Condemning the Rich is without Precedent; and that the worst Malefactors are pitied at the *Gibbet*. Whereas, if the *Whigs* were once restored, they would soon find a Way to oblige them, who know so well how to punish False Brethren, and to manage a Decent Execution to advantage. Do we think, they would Permit those Criminals to escape, who built a Scaffold for their own Party; and put an End to a well-established Usurpation with a Prodigious Farce? Can we believe, that they would ever forgive those Petty-coat Party-men, who staked the Cause of the Lord and his Saints, against a Tea-table Quarrel; and put it upon the same Lay with a Dispute about Commodities and Furbeleans? They know but little of the Temper and Wisdom of the *Whigs*, who think they will not be ready at any time to deliver up to the Paws of the most Lyon-like *Tories*, All Those, who falsely assumed that Venerable Name, and debased their Party under the Impudent Pretence of Modern Improvements; and basely went off from the Good Old Cause, and the Gallant Principles of the *Ludlows*, the *St. Johns*, the *Hambdens*, the *Sidneys*, and *Har-ringtons*; Men that were Born in worse Times, and yet behaved Themselves much Better. Can we see the Union turned against us, and Those who used to be First in the Cause, now servilely

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Truckling to the *Tories*, and taking their Pay instead of their Plunder, and not sufficiently resent the Folly, and as heartily prosecute their Treachery, who would not draw the Union closer, and with a handsome Equivalent make our Brethren *Whigs* as well as *Britons*? Now at length our Eyes are open; and we may discern of what Species our famed Converts are; we may easily see the old Leven of the *Tories* still prevails in them, and that they took Refuge with us, only because they were rejected at *St. Germain's*: If therefore our honest Friends in *Holborn* and *Moorfields*, have a Mind to a *Procession*; let them Restore the *Whigs*, and I'll engage, they shall have it at the Expence of our own Party.

How can we ever expect to see *Moderation*, the most lovely of all Christian Vertues, flourish again, unless the *Whigs* are Restored? The *Tories* do not so much as name This Vertue amongst Their Party, but with Abhorrence; and how did they oppose and revile us, whenever they found us inclined to practise it? When out of a vast Number of *Papists* and *Jacobites*, we singled out but one to make an Example, *Ex post facto*, How was our Moderation misrepresented? When we aimed at an utter Expulsion, and declared openly for Root and Branch: Being resolved not to leave so much as one *Tory* either in the *Executive* or *Legislative* Branch, with what Invectives did That Rampant Party open against our Clemency? And yet how Great was our Mercy, who were only contented not to Prefer, instead of Punishing as we ought, the profest Enemies of the Publick? When we Tolerated every thing but One or Two Articles of the Church, Justice it self could not preserve our candid Proceedings from

from being Reflected on. Others might punish every thing, and remit nothing, and yet claim the Character of Upright Patriots : We granted a General Indulgence, and only put a Restraint upon two or three Crimes, and yet are call'd Bigotted and Intemperate. What Tryal, what Debate, what Publick Cause, was there, in which we had not a very tender Regard for our own and the Nation's Friends ? With what Face then can they complain of our Want of *Moderation* ? Is it usual for Men to talk perpetually of *Moderation*, and to sound scarce any thing else from the *Senate*, the *Bench*, the *Bar*, the *Press*, and the *Pulpit* ; if they never intended to practise any such Duty ? Can we be thought so mad as to accuse the *Tories*, when they presume to inquire into any Backslidings of the Faithful, of the Want of *Moderation*, if we did not believe there was such a *Vertue* ? Take a *View* of us in the Proceedings and Conduct of our *Viceroy*s, our *Secretaries*, our *Judges*, our *Bishops*, and all our *Subalterns*, and then accuse us of failing in this Duty if you can ? In short, give us the Power again, if you would try our Temper : For so fond were we of *Moderation*, that we had a Spice of it even in our Manners, our Sense, our Good-nature, our Honesty, our Religion.

Let the *Union*, which wants so much to be Establish'd and Fortified, be another Reason for Restoring the *Whigs* ; who first contriv'd it, happily accomplish'd it, and seem to have a Title to take Care of it, as a Child of their own. Is it reasonable, that the *Tories* should step in, and reap the Fruits of our Labours ? That they should run away with the *Glory* of a *Treaty*, and leave us the Shame of a *Confederacy* ? Must we lose a convenient Place to land our *New Revolution*s

tions in? Did we for this send for them of the North to be *Catechiz'd* under our *Secretaries*, that they should revolt, and go to the *Episcopalians* for *Confirmation*. I appeal to that truly Learned and Honest Statesman, Mr. *Daniel de Foe*, who has so bravely attempted to free that Nation from the last Resort to *England*, and so boldly advanc'd our *English* Lords to a Degree of Honour, surpassing *Turks*, *Indians*, and other inferiour Truce-breakers; nay, has compar'd them even to the King of S——, Whether now the Honey-Moon is over, and the Jointure and separate Maintenance settled, the *Bride*, as he well expresses it, *be not as willing as We to part?* Does he not assure us, *That We united with them as Presbyterians?* And are not Presbyterians *Whigs?* Now if they turn *Tories*, how can the Treaty be observ'd, unless We are again Restor'd, and Put into a Power and Capacity of Keeping Them Right?

But there is another prevailing Argument, that ought to plead for Us: I mean, the due Application of that Noble Invention, call'd a *Sponge*. Let the *Tories* deny if they dare, that the *Whigs* were the Authors of this curious Device, and in how critical a Juncture was it found out? Just as the growing Debt of the Nation was Rising to so prodigious a Sum, as must make that Admirable Rarity of immediate Use and absolute Necessity. Whereas under the Dilatory Conduct of the *Tories*, the long Entail of Debts under which the Nation groans, is in a fair Way to be secur'd: Our Merchants who have studied the Wars so long, are now like to be paid the dull old Way of *Interest* and *Principle*, without any Prospect of shorter Methods: Not the least Hopes of Plunder are left them: Nor so much as the airy Appearance

ance of a *New Revolution*, tho' they have been Wrangling and Quarrelling for it ever since the old one.

If we are not to be restor'd to all our Power, yet trust us only with the *White Staff*, with the *Magician's Rod*; for what *Tory* of the Pack, *Red* *hot* or *Moderate*, will ever handle it to so good an Advantage, or do so many *Romantick Feats* with it as when it was in our Hands? It fortified those who were within the Circle, and made those without dance after us to no Purpose. Was there ever a nobler Piece of Enchantment acted in the *Hay-market*? Did we not raise Castles, build Fleets, kill Giants, destroy Monsters, erect Palaces, mount Witches upon Broomstaves, and employ Devils without Number? And was it not reasonable we should be paid for a *Rare Show*, so wonderful and surprizing? Let others raise Millions to end the War, we did it to carry the War on. It is true, the Present Sett of Men write a good Hand, understand Accounts, and can form a Ballance or *Sum Total* to Admiration: Give us the Power then; make us the *Squires*, and let them be our *Stewards* and *Baileys*. I am sure, if we are not soon reinstated in the *Treasury* and *Exchequer*, the *Tories* will begin a most terrible and bloody Persecution; and no less than the total Overthrow and Massacre of the *Whigs* will satisfy them: for what a Temptation will it be to that honest Party to desert, when it is no longer for their Interest to be *Whigs*? Tho' they cannot be Trusted, yet they will Trust, which is bad; where *Seven* or *Eight per Cent.* is the Reward of their *Faith*, the *Tories* are sure to cut them off at a Blow; For where their *Treasure* is there will their *Heart* be also.

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Have we any Regard to sweet *English* Freedom ? any Detestation of Chains and Slavery ? Let the *Whigs* be Restor'd ; the great Patrons and Supporters of Liberties. Whilst they Reign'd was there any Complaining of Oppression ? any extraordinary Business at the *Old Baily*, the *Secretary's* Office, or before the *Attorney General*, or *Serjeant at Arms* ? Were there any accumulative *High Crimes*, any *constructive Treasons*, or any *Scandal by Interpretation* ? Was there any Dread upon the Subject from Committees of *Affections*, or of *Examinations* ? Did not the *Press*, and the *Bar*, and all Sorts of *Pulpits*, run Riot as they pleas'd ? The *Church*, the *Throne*, the *Mitre*, together with the *dead* Letter of the *Law* and the *Gospel* were not exempted : All the Restraint was, that no one should teach Fundamentals, or should libel the Saints and the Elect, and was not this just and reasonable ? But to what Extravagances of Tyranny are the *Tories* now hurrying ? If we *Whigs* do but sin over our old Precedents, and claim the Rights and Liberties, which, because they were our own, we very equitably denied to others ; presently they step in, and plead those very Laws, and would inflict those very Penalties, which we made and settled, as if they, forsooth, the sworn Enemies of the Government, were upon a Level with its best Friends and Supporters ? Nay, are they not making what Haste they can to Remove those Incumbrances which lay hard upon the Crown, which we plac'd there, on Purpose to embarrass the Prerogative, and make the Assertors of Liberty necessary, and fit to have all the Power ? These the *Tories* are now throwing off, and ungratefully attempt to load them on our Shoulders, who despise their Malice, and at the
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same time laugh to see their Folly, in admiring and contemplating the happy Union between Majesty, Goodness, Piety, Compassion, and Tenderness, whilst they want the Sense to improve a *Royal Foible* : and know not the right Use they ought to make of those convenient Vertues, tho' they have our Instructions ringing in their Ears, and our Examples fresh in their Memories.

Let any of the Hack-Writers among the *Tories* tell me, whether they ought not to be restored to Power, who best know how to keep and defend it? How can they expect to stand long, who are so easily blown down with every Puff of Wind? Whereas we, who make Storms, can abide them. A civil Message, a Frow, a short Billet, or even the Blasting of the Breath of the Royal Nostrils, could send the poor heartless *Tories* packing; and deprive them of all; whereas we stood out manfully, bullied the State, defied, swagger'd, talk'd of our *Generals*, our *Admirals*, our Rights, our Riches: Appealed to the Army, cried out for Help to *Holland*, bid the *Bank* stand by us, and like brave Champions, neglected nothing that was for our Honour and Safety; and here I must beg leave to make use of the Prince of Conde's Words upon another Occasion, *How well do such Men deserve Power, who could so bravely defend it!* What have we done, that we did not and do not still justify? Have they convinced us of any one Fault? They must be shallow Politicians indeed, who can believe, that since we were turned out with so much Difficulty, we shall not find it easy to come in again.

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There is an Argument, upon which the *Roman Catholicks* value themselves more than upon any other; they say, that *Protestants* allow Salvation in their Communion, tho' the *Papists* deny Salvation in a *Protestant* Communion; when it is much the safest way to be a *Papist*: Because both Sides agree, that he may be saved: Whereas the *Protestant* has only the Word of his own Party for his Security: And this Argument gives the *Catholicks* much the best of the Lay. Now tho' the *Whigs* have all the Aversion in the World to *Popery*; yet they never thought it a good way to take Advice of an Enemy, and to learn his Ways; Reason is to be heard from whatever Quarter it comes: And therefore with a great deal of Justice, they have palmed the very same Argument upon the *Tories*; we deny them the very Power and Possibility of being honest Men or good Subjects: And we have good Grounds for this, how otherwise would such a Practice consist with the great Duty of *Moderation*, which every Body knows we profess. And according to this Perswasion, when we were in Power, we would not leave so much as one of them in the Ministry. But on the other Hand, the *Tories*, tho' they clamour at the very Word Moderation, do not deny us the Possibility of being good Subjects: For when they are in, they admit great Numbers out of our Party, to be Partners of their Power; trust, caress, and believe us, let us into the Secret, and divide the Profits with us; when a Man therefore turns *Tory*, he runs much the greatest Hazard of Exclusion: But all is Rugg, as the Gamesters say, with the *Whigs*; and this is another never failing Reason, why the *Whigs* will, and shall, and must prevail.

Great

Great has been the Triumph of the Rampant Party, upon the going off of the Mob from their ancient Allies ; and after they were raised by us, declaring for the Enemy. It was pleasant, to see us raking in the old *Tory* Pamphlets, for Railery against Tumults and Rabbling: tho' upon the first Importation of a few Colours from *Flanders*, and the Assurances given us by *Irish Tom*, who had fixt the Time to *May-Day*, we firmly believ'd, we should have them again on our Side: and then those Reasons and Raileries would revert to their first Owners. However a Reason is good, if it serves the Turn but for ten Days ; and tho' by our *Moderation*, we suffer'd the Parsons to pass among their Neighbours for ordinary Monsters, and little Devils only of about two Years old, so that the Rabble began to think 'em very good Play-Fellows ; and tho' we made such a Noise and Ostentation of our Wealth, that our loving Subjects began to think of claiming their Part in the Plunder: Yet now these things are all over, we have stood the Shock much better than the *Tories* used to do, when they were attack'd by the very same Weapons ; and there is all the Reason to believe, that the *Tories* will soon take their Turn ; for that Poverty we have brought and entailed upon the People, will soon make them mutiny against their present Directors, tho' they are not in Fault, before they can retrieve our Mismanagement. The *Ostobrians*, as the hot Weather comes on, will perhaps begin some Gambol or other, dress a Scare-Crow for us, or it may be, give us some very great Rogue or Raparee in Distress, as bad as our selves, that we may have Pity upon him. When other People get to be as rich as we are,

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there will be many Mouths watering at them too: Especially, if they have the same Occasion that we had, to proclaim our Wealth, and let the World know where our Mines lay. Whatever happens, the Mob must be with us, and bring us in again like a mighty Torrent; for it is not to be expected, they should part with their old Friends for a hasty Word, or for one rash and inconsiderate Action.

We have been told indeed, that our *Political Lies* and *Pious Frauds* were ill Contrived, and worse Managed; and that at present we are utterly exhausted. The Ingratitude of the *Tories* is indeed in this Case never to be Palliated or Allowed for; when they gave out, that we were Enemies to the Church, that we were Fierce, Immoderate, Implacable in our Tempers, that our Avarice was Insatiable, and we should Spoil, Plunder, and Devour all that came in our Way, and that we were Enemies to the Prerogative, and Hereditary Insulters of Monarchy: We did them the Favour to make their Words good in every Particular, so soon as ever it came to the Tryal; but when we represented them as *Papists*, *French-men*, *Jacobites*, *Tyrants*, *Perkinites*, and *Blood-suckers*; they gave the Lie to every Name, so soon as ever it was in their Power; pursued the War with *France*, were hearty for the *Succession*, secured the Publick Debts, declared for the Indulgence to Dissenters, and even let Us go unpunished. But what then? Tho' this *Bite* failed, have we not another? Are we so exhausted? Did we not presently give out, that they never intended all this, but comply'd with it, because they found it necessary at present: Tho' we knew there was no Proof but our

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Scandal, that ever they intended otherwise? Did we not assure the World, that some of their Leaders were *Whigs* in Masquerade, tho' we know, that They know that we would have Hanged them as the worst of *Tories*, who never herded with us, but to Betray and Undermine us, and that we shall never forgive them the Late Turn? And did we not presently trump up a Distinction of *Old* and *New Whigs*, and give out that the *New Whigs*, most of which were of the Late Ministry, were False Brethren, and as such ought to be divested; and that most of the New Ministry are *Old Whigs*, and ought to be joined to the *Old Whigs* of the Late Ministry, so that it may be a *Whig* Ministry still? Have we not perswaded the Town, that the *October* Men, and their Adherents, are Mortal Enemies to the Present Ministry, tho' we know the secret Correspondence between them, and that their Demands are Concerted; and then, because of their Numbers, made the Pretence to Ruin us, as if the Ministry could not help it? And after all these pretty Inventions, are we Exhausted? are we Drained? Has not the Town bob'd at these Baits, swallowed the Gudgeon, and listened to our Pamphleteers? and may we not reasonably hope to be restored, since we Practice our Old Arts with such Success, and our Good *Genius* has not forsaken us?

I could mention several other Reasons, that may induce us to Believe, we shall soon have another Turn in our Favour; such as the Great Power of Money, which is so much the Property of our Party, and which may be turned to a very good account, e'er it is accounted for, and the exorbitant Surplusage Refunded. Besides this,

the great Increase of our *Necessary Women*, who are so apt to do good to the Distressed; as also the Method of the *Tories*, who take all Advantages of the Divisions between the *Old* and *New Whigs*, the Subscribers and Those who stand out, as we did of their Divisions: Who erect Clubs to promote their Interest by a Pretended Opposition; and in short, give into a great many of our Measures, which may at last lead them into those that Ruined Us. But I wave these Considerations: Those I have already mentioned, are sufficient for the Consolation of our Friends, and the Terror of our Enemies.

More might be said, if the Times would bear it; and less could not have been said, without wronging a Good Cause, which God, in his own Good Season, will take Care of. I hope it will one time or other be Remembered to my Advantage, That I have Dared to be Honest in a Villanous Age, and to appear boldly in the Face of the World, an Advocate and Defender of the Injured and Oppressed, who yet have Deserved other Usage from their Country. Others could write of *Publicola*, *Aristides*, *Atticus*, and *Epaminondas*, when they Flourished and were at the Head of Affairs: My Task has been to acknowledge and proclaim their Merit, and with it the Ingratitude of their Country, now they are Distressed and Forsaken. Everybody sees to what a Monstrous Pitch, the known Insolence of the *Tories* is already Risen; for which Reason, it would have been inexcusable Hardiness in me to Publish my Name to the World, and thereby Expose my self to their Fury. I reserve my self
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for a Better Fate ; tho' in Handling the Subject, I have not Spared Them ; and if they should Discover me, am Prepared for the Worst that their Fury and Mad Zeal can Invent.

I expect a great many *Answers* to what I have written, and that I shall be attack'd with all the Ill-manners, *Billingsgate*, and Railery, which are so natural to the *Tories* : But I hope my *Readers* will provide against it, as well as I do, and will learn to Despise Ill-Language, and listen only to strict Fact and sound Reason. For my own Part, my Conscience is my Support ; I have the *Æs Triplex* about me, with which the *Whigs* have so long stood the Shock of all their Enemies. I am conscious I have done my Duty, and leave the rest to Providence. I am sure, this is not a Time for the *Whigs* to sit still, and hold their Tongues, under the Discipline of their Task-Masters. I have broken the Ice, and expect that all Lovers of Truth and Friends to the Constitution should stand by, and assist me. Let the *Examiner* and his Brother *Abel* begin the Fray if they please ; if they will keep close to the Subject, and argue upon the Principles of Reason and Justice, I shall attend to and answer them ; but if they stick to their usual Talents of railing and calling Names, as I shrewdly suspect they will : I shall no more mind such Barkings, than if I were actually placed in the Sphere of the *Moon*, quite out of hearing the Clamour they make.

When I first undertook this Subject, I gave the Rough Draught of it to a very Eminent *Tory*, to peruse ; agreeable to the Humour of his Party,
he

he was in a great Heat, railed incessantly, and threatened me with an *Answer*. If he holds in that Mind, upon the first Appearance of his Pretended Confutation, I shall be ready with a *Reply*; of which timely Notice shall be given in the *Review* or *Observer*:

BRITISH
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FINIS.